

COMMUNISTS BY DOS PASSOS: HAROLD CLURMAN

THE *Nation*

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October 9, 1954

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C. Herman Pritchett

The Supreme Court and Civil Liberties

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U. N.'s Spreading Staff Purge

Elizabeth Weideman

The H-Bomb's First Victims

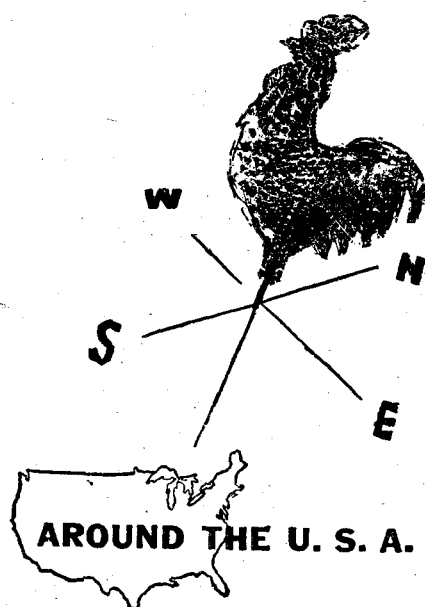
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South Africa's Plan: Seato to Ato

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The N. S. A. Congress

Ames, Iowa

THE Seventh National Student Congress convened at Iowa State College, Ames, Iowa, from August 22 through August 31. More than six hundred students from some four hundred colleges and universities came together to set the policy for the National Student Association under the chairmanship of James Edwards of the University of Illinois.

Compared with past conventions, this one was surprisingly dull. It was clear that left-wing attempts to mold the association into an agitational group had been completely crushed. (In the late 1940's there was real doubt whether the N. S. A. could continue in the face of the efforts of certain elements to twist its work in a partisan direction.) The defeat of the left wing, however, seems to have been due as much to national trends as to the students' own efforts to provide stronger, more objective direction.

The N. S. A. has now come of age. Its programs deal with students' international relations, with national affairs as they bear on student aims, and with student government on the campus. It runs a non-profit travel bureau. Since last year it has been able, with the help of gifts from individuals and foundations, to operate wholly "in the black."

The efficient leadership it has had in the past two or three years will continue if the character of the newly elected officers, Harry Lunn of Michigan and

K. Wallace Longshore of U. C. L. A., is a guide.

Two issues which would have aroused fiery debate in the past—academic freedom and relations with students in the Communist orbit—were utter "duds" this year. The defeated motion on academic freedom upheld the principle that "dismissal from membership in the educational community should be only for incompetence or violation of the academic freedom of others, as determined by a tribunal of peers; or for moral turpitude or conviction under the law of the land; and then only after a fair hearing." In a hall only half filled the resolution was lost by a fairly close, though definite, margin. The decisive argument seemed to be that the N. S. A. would be unrealistic if it did not recognize "that membership in any totalitarian conspiratorial group or organization that advocates the violent overthrow of the United States government requires acceptance of certain principles and methods which surrender freedom . . . such membership extinguishes the ability of a professor to be professionally competent." A resolution expressing this view was passed overwhelmingly. One might add that students could hardly be expected to flout what has become "incontrovertible logic" in the mouths of their mentors.

Concerning relations with Communist students behind the Iron Curtain the N. S. A. resolved to continue cooperation with the international coordinating secretariat formed after the International Union of Students was converted into an organ of Communist propaganda. It also resolved to continue its exchanges with countries outside the Iron Curtain, avoiding any concrete statement about effecting contacts with students in Russia or its satellites. In the committees which handled this issue there was some expression of the view that an effort should be made to bring about direct exchanges with Russia. Richard Ward of the University of Chicago, one of the college editors who recently visited Russia, took this position. The view of the N. S. A. leadership was that no statement on exchange with Russia was necessary or politic.

The most interesting aspect of this debate was the close parallel between the position of the United States government and that of the N. S. A. on the

general problem of relations with countries behind the Iron Curtain. While many West European governments and West European student groups want to explore the possibility of making contact with Communist countries, the United States and the N. S. A. are tightening the lines of separation.

THE N. S. A. has always been opposed to racial discrimination in education, and since it has been boycotted by most Southern colleges it has been able to take an increasingly uncompromising stand. The Supreme Court decision of a few months ago vindicated this attitude; yet the resolution recommending measures to implement the decision had to be hammered out frantically overnight by a special emergency committee appointed by President Edwards. The affair seemed to indicate a singular bankruptcy of internal policy-making. This is not to criticize the resolution itself, which urged, very laudably, "the swiftest possible integration of the races at all educational levels in all parts of the country."

In retrospect, the congress was a rather depressing experience. Instead of a zest for intellectual exploration most students demonstrated an almost neurotic docility of mind. Instead of positive awareness there was passive receptivity to the proposals of past and present leaders. There was no willingness to take the slightest risk, either intellectually or concretely.

It cannot be denied, however, that the N. S. A. has done remarkable work in fostering student government on many campuses, has provided excellent information services, and has opened many channels of student contact, especially in South America. But in expanding and oiling the machinery of operations the N. S. A. evidently has fallen prey to the "curse of bigness." The issues before a congress are too crucial to be mis-handled by uninitiated delegates, who, after all, may come but once and then only for the scenery.

HARVEY GLICKMAN

HARVEY GLICKMAN, a teaching fellow at Harvard University, was a delegate to the N. S. A. congress. He is coauthor with H. H. Wilson of "The Problem of Internal Security in Great Britain, 1948-1952."

The Shape of Things

The Watkins Report

The report of the Select Senate Committee to Study Censure against Senator McCarthy merits the high praise it has received. It is temperate in tone and manner, meets the issues squarely, and is clear-cut in its conclusions. The report reflects close attention to the record and a careful weighing of the evidence. The committee was at considerable pains to demonstrate, in each instance, the reasoning by which the major conclusions were reached. It reflects, too, a strong sense of the importance of the inquiry and an admirable feeling for the dignity and prerogatives of the Senate. A combination of factors—the committee's prestige, the wide approval the report has received in the press, the alacrity with which Republican National Chairman Leonard W. Hall praised it, and the fact that the report itself is such a convincing document—would seem to insure its adoption by the Senate and a vote of censure for McCarthy. The debate will be bitter, but the end result can hardly be in question. It is worth noting, for the record, that McCarthy's supporters, according to newspaper columnist John O'Donnell, now raise for the first time the objection that no member of the committee with the exception of Senator Johnson represents a state in which Catholics have political influence. None of these critics, as we recall, objected when the Kersten committee, seven of whose nine members are Catholics, undertook recently to probe into the meeting of the Protestant World Council of Churches at Evanston.

Witnesses Have Rights

Two aspects of the Watkins report merit special comment. At the outset Senator Watkins made it clear that the inquiry of the Select Committee was of "a special character which differentiates it from the usual legislative inquiry." Not only was it concerned with the internal affairs of the Senate, but it must determine the issues necessarily involved in passing judgment on "the conduct and possible punishment" of one of its members. Therefore, so Senator Watkins reasoned, the inquiry should be conducted in a judicial or semi-judicial manner.

In effect this statement recognizes a point that *The*

Nation has been emphasizing for some years—namely, that current "subversive activities" inquiries are essentially punitive in character and represent an encroachment on the judicial power. Certainly if a Senator, faced with the possibility of a rebuke or censure that would injure his reputation, is entitled to special judicial safeguards, then any other citizen in the same position should be entitled to the same safeguards. Similarly, in passing on the Zwicker incident, the report is quite specific on the point that McCarthy's conduct would have been equally offensive if the victim had not been a high-ranking military official with a fine war record. The inference is clear. If General Zwicker, standing on his rights as a witness, had refused to answer McCarthy's questions on the ground that the chairman's conduct was offensive, would the Senate have held him in contempt? On these two points, the Watkins report has established new outposts from which witnesses may defend themselves against tyrannical chairmen conducting runaway inquiries.

Echo of Guatemala

It will be recalled that former President Arbenz of Guatemala turned to the Security Council for help when the anti-Communist forces of Castillo Armas were invading the country from bases in neighboring Honduras. But under the leadership of Ambassador Henry Cabot Lodge, Jr., the United States representative, the Council turned down Arbenz's plea on the ground that the Organization of the American States, rather than the United Nations, had jurisdiction.

Today Arbenz is in exile and Armas rules Guatemala, but in the corridors of the United Nations the profoundly disturbing implications of the Security Council's decision have not been forgotten. Last week Dr. Francisco Gamarra of Uruguay, whose stature as a delegate from Latin America's "model democracy" is increased by the fact that he is also president of his country's Supreme Court, reminded the Assembly:

My country believes that the principles of regional understanding and the guaranties this system offers can in no way be invoked either to prevent the states from having immediate and direct recourse to the jurisdiction of the United Nations or to deprive them, even temporarily, of protective action by the organs of the universal community of nations.

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Dr. Gamarra's statement was followed by one equally forthright from Dr. José Vicente Trujillo of Ecuador. These interventions on a subject which was not, strictly speaking, even on the agenda of the Assembly attest to the deep wounds left in Latin America by Washington's coup d'état against the legally elected Arbenz regime. But more than emotion is involved. The question whether or not the Security Council, or any other U. N. body, can slam the door on a supplicant on the ground that regional agreements have "first" jurisdiction is of basic importance, and we shall return to it in the near future.

The Mystery of the Fields

The value of ranking defectors from the Communist faith may be as great as our government seems to think. Certainly they are treated as prized cold-war trophies in Washington. But when they "surface" and give the public samples of their inside information, it usually seems to confuse rather than clarify the picture of behind-the-curtain operations.

The latest report has been rendered by Josef Swiato, a former Polish security official who bolted during a shopping tour in Berlin last December. At a couple of press conferences in Washington last week Mr. Swiato gave a first-hand story of the disappearance of Noel Field, his wife Herta, and his brother Hermann. The Polish official himself had arrested Hermann, who came to Warsaw presumably to look for Noel. According to Swiato, Hermann is still in jail in Poland, if indeed he is not dead. As for Noel and Herta, both were imprisoned in Hungary. Swiato reported that he and other security officers questioned them at Budapest, where they had been arrested, in connection with the Rajk trial, on charges of espionage for American intelligence and "Titoist elements." He believes both are now dead, for he later attempted without success to get from the Hungarian security authorities a deposition for use by the Polish government in its case against Hermann. On the basis of the information supplied by Swiato—though on the contrary assumption that the Fields are still living—the United States has sent notes to Hungary and Poland demanding the release of the Americans.

The Holes in the Plot

So far, so good. But how far have we really got? Strange doubts attach to some of Mr. Swiato's statements. He said that he believed both Noel and Hermann Field to be "Communist sympathizers"; that Noel had written letters to the head of the Communist Party in Poland referring to his "party activities" in the United States. But the only direct remark attributed to Noel was that he had *not* engaged in espionage but was gathering material for a book about the "People's Democracies."

The NATION

As for Hermann, Swiato said he had been a member of a committee which had helped "Communist and non-Communist refugees" through Nazi Germany. This was the only evidence he gave of Hermann's supposed Communist sympathies; it seems rather sketchy to say the least.

However, if all these suppositions are well founded, the mystery only deepens. Swiato reports that Hermann, to whom he often talked and whom he argued out of a suicide attempt, has been held in a prison by administrative order; he was never charged with any offense or his case even brought to the attention of the public prosecutor. But if Hermann was in fact a Communist sympathizer, one wonders why he was arrested in the first place; why he is still held. Mr. Swiato does not explain. And if no charges had been preferred against him why did Swiato try to get a deposition from the Hungarian

authorities? What purpose could it serve? The story seems to leak at several critical points.

Still another unanswered question emerges—a very important one, from the point of view of Americans. The Polish official has been in the hands of the Washington authorities ever since his defection last December. But the State Department's notes to Warsaw and Budapest were dispatched just two and one-half hours before Swiato's press conference last week. Is it possible that the department has had his testimony in its possession for ten months and has moved only now to demand the release of the Fields? We find this hard to believe. If it is true we should like to know how the department explains or excuses its delay in a matter involving not alone the freedom but perhaps the very life of three American citizens.

Headway on Disarmament

WHILE the London agreement and the World Series hugged the headlines last week, a new Soviet disarmament offer, as important as the one and as dramatic as the other, made scarcely a dent in the natural consciousness. The proposals Andrei Vishinski presented to the

A full consideration of the London agreement will appear in next week's issue.

U. N. on September 30 appear to have abandoned positions to which the Russians have clung for many years. Examination of the new Soviet attitude reveals these developments:

1. For the first time Moscow has dropped the demand that a total ban on atomic, hydrogen, and other mass-destruction weapons must precede a reduction in conventional armaments and armed forces.

2. Hitherto the Russians have insisted that disarmament must be accomplished in one swoop. Now they have agreed that armaments and military man-power shall be diminished by stages.

3. For the past six years they have demanded an across-the-board cut of one-third in the forces of the United States, Britain, France, China, and the U. S. S. R.; now they acquiesce in the principle of disarmament to levels which are to be agreed upon by negotiation and which shall apply to a larger group of nations.

4. They have adopted as a discussion basis an Anglo-French plan which Russia rejected three and a half months ago at a London meeting of a U. N. disarmament subcommittee. It is a strange sensation to find the Russians accepting a Western program even "in principle."

The Soviet proposals have their adverse side. They fail to provide for a control organ which shall function

before the nations start reducing their forces and weapons. This is a cardinal point in all Western disarmament projects. Further, in its initial stage Russia's plan would put a temporary control authority under the U. N. Security Council, which means that the veto would apply. They say a permanent control organ would be formed in a later phase, presumably—though this needs clarification—within one year after the proposed disarmament treaty comes into effect. Finally, while the Russian scheme provides for inspection, it lacks specific enforcement powers or sanctions against evasion or violation. Vagueness on this point also exists in the Anglo-French proposals.

The treaty proposed by Russia would include these essentials: within six months or one year signatory states shall reduce by 50 per cent of agreed norms their armaments, armed forces, and military appropriations. A provisional control commission shall be established under the Security Council to obtain from participating states reports on their fulfilment of the disarmament measures. In a second stage the remaining 50 per cent of stipulated reductions in arms and man-power shall be effected. In this second phase would come the ban on the manufacture and use of atomic and hydrogen weapons.

These and other conditions leave plentiful scope for continued wrangling and deadlock. For instance, what shall be the "agreed norms" of armed forces and military spending from which the cuts are to be made? But Russia's move definitely marks headway, and its potentialities must be thoroughly explored.

What induced Russia to reverse its attitude since turning down the British-French proposals in June? Behind the scenes the Mendès-France government has been pressing Moscow strongly to accept that program.

But Russia's adoption of the plan, even in principle, came too late to buttress the French stand at the nine-nation London conference. Before that meeting it might have been possible to arouse greater resistance to West German rearmament by pointing to the improved chance of international disarmament. Now, however, the London arrangements are likely to win a French parliamentary majority. Another possibility is that the Russians

timed their disarmament move to overshadow the United States bid for an international agency to promote peaceful use of atomic energy.

The U. S. S. R. evidently means business in coming much of the way toward the American-supported Anglo-French disarmament project. It is a faulty syllogism that because governments so often act irresponsibly they are incapable of sanity.

THE SPREADING U. N. PURGE

New Crisis for the Staff . . by *J. Alvarez del Vayo*

United Nations

"ARE there any Communists among you? Do you like Mr. Vishinsky? Is it true that your friend Mr. So-and-So is a Communist? Have you any friends among the Soviet citizens in the secretariat? What is your position on the events in Guatemala? Do you think there is any justification for the Puerto Ricans who shot and wounded several Congressmen? Do you sympathize with the 'common man' or with the capitalists? How many enemies of Perón and Trujillo do you know in the secretariat? Is it true that you have played chess with your Soviet colleagues?"

These questions are taken directly from an investigation ordered by the Secretary General of the United Nations, Dag Hammarskjöld, to ferret out alleged subversion among the Spanish-language stenographers of the secretariat. For several weeks a board of three under the chairmanship of Señor José Correa, an executive assistant to the Secretary General, plus James Bough and Roberto Unanue, has been interrogating these subordinate U. N. employees. They have been questioned also about their most intimate thoughts, the books and newspapers they read, how they spend their time outside the office, and so on. The object of this particular inquiry has not been made public. The people investigated have no idea of the charges behind the interrogations, and the most fantastic rumors are circulating. Some say the inquiry was started by certain Latin American delegations which transmitted to the U. N. a de-

mand from their governments that all persons disloyal to the regimes of those countries be summarily dismissed. Another version is that the administration having purged the "subversive" Americans whose scalps were demanded by the F. B. I., is now initiating a similar purge of the non-American members of the staff.

A careful check has yielded enough facts to indicate that such a purge is indeed under way. In the course of a few weeks a number of Latin American citizens have lost their U. N. jobs. In all these cases the administration has either offered some pretext or has cited the discretionary powers granted by the Assembly to the Secretary General for reorganizing the secretariat. But it is an extremely suspicious fact, to say the least, that all the people involved happen to be out of sympathy with the totalitarian regimes prevailing in their countries. None is a known Communist, but even if there were Communists among them, the U. N. is not supposed to apply political tests to its employees—despite the contrary practice initiated by the United States.

The worst thing about this development is not, however, the damage and injustice inflicted upon individuals, many of whom have served the U. N. with devotion and efficiency for six, seven, or eight years. An even graver matter is the demoralization that these measures have produced in the staff as a whole. An atmosphere of fear and distrust prevails. Staff members believe that they are being watched, that their

telephones are tapped, and that their movements inside and outside the U. N. building are being constantly checked. Nor are these fears without foundation. The situation has produced a body of informers acting out of fear or the hope of promotion under the tolerant and protective eye of the authorities. Some Latin American functionaries, carrying out directives from their governments, spy upon compatriots who are in disfavor at home and denounce them to the U. N. administration.

The administration acts upon such information often without even confronting the accused person with the charges against him. The Bureau of Personnel, now directly responsible to the Secretary General, is in effect a police agency with practically unrestricted powers. Administrative decisions about appointments, dismissals, and transfer of personnel are often taken without consultation with the directors of the respective services. This upsets staff discipline and destroys the authority of the directors affected.

PERHAPS it was inevitable that the precedent of denunciation, interrogation, and purge established by Congress and the Administration should have encouraged a similar policy among certain other national regimes. The United States has never admitted that international civil servants should be responsible only to their employer—in this case the United Nations. Instead it has held that the security restrictions affecting American government em-

employees should apply equally to Americans serving the U. N. The theory is naturally an appealing one to such regimes as those in Argentina and the Dominican Republic, whose political methods have driven hundreds of diplomats and other civil servants into exile. Some of the best people in the U. N., people in highly responsible as well as less important jobs, come from the ranks of political refugees. Once the program gets under way it is not likely to stop with a few fugitives from Latin America. What, people here are asking, is to prevent the Communist states from demanding the dismissal from U. N. posts of outspoken opponents among their nationals? The purge, once begun, could set off a chain reaction with consequences that would profoundly disturb the United States, as well as smash the whole concept of an international body.

But if the purge precedent has undermined the prerogatives of the United Nations, exposing its non-American employees to attack, it has also invaded the prerogatives of foreign countries by subjecting Americans working for the U. N. abroad to the same treatment. Four persons employed at the UNESCO headquarters at Paris have recently been notified by Luther Evans, the American director general, that they would be dropped when their contracts expired at the end of December. Of these one is David Leff, whose case has received wide attention in the press—more in Europe than in the United States. (See *The Nation* for June 27, 1953.) In each instance the reason for dismissal was the refusal of the staff member to testify before an American loyalty board. The director general has ruled that such behavior is inconsistent with the "high standards of integrity" maintained by UNESCO. Three other employees, with permanent contracts, are being retained pending action at the Montevideo conference of UNESCO next month. Mr. Evans is demanding a change in staff regulations to give him the power to terminate contracts.

Meanwhile the Administrative Tribunal sitting at Geneva has acted on complaints submitted by David Leff and Gordon McIntire—the latter recently dropped from the staff of the Food and Agriculture Organization. In both cases the Tribunal sustained rulings by the appeals boards of the agencies involved

disapproving the original decisions which the two employees had challenged. This does not, however, clear the men or restore their jobs. In the case of David Leff, the Tribunal refused to pass on a second order from Mr. Evans commanding him to "satisfy the requirements of the judicial authorities of the United States." The Tribunal's decision was a technical one, based on the fact that Leff had failed to submit his complaint to the UNESCO appeals board before coming to Geneva. But on both moral and legal grounds the Tribunal has sustained his basic position—namely, that an international civil servant is not automatically subject to the loyalty orders of his home government.

The Tribunal's ruling on Mr. McIntire was to the same effect. It agreed that the F. A. O.'s refusal to reinstate him—after he had in fact been reappointed—reflected not a sudden change of heart as to his qualifications but rather a sharp demand from the State Department that he be dropped. The letter conveying and explaining this demand was withheld from the Tribunal as well as from the dismissed employee. Consequently the Tribunal ordered Mr. McIntire's reinstatement, or, in the event this was not carried out, financial compensation for salary lost and expenses incurred.

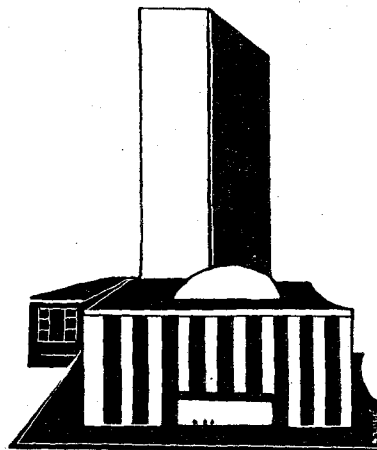
THESE cases have become *causes célèbres* in Europe. They symbolize the resistance of the international organization to the sort of interference from Washington that will, if successful, convert the agencies of the U. N. into protectorates of a country which is not even "host" to the bodies in question. In practical effect it would rob the

individuals, the agencies, and the nations that house them of their Charter rights.

Here in New York the situation has reached a point that has aroused the concern of various delegations not directly affected. I have been informed that some of them intend to raise the question when the plan of administrative reorganization proposed by Mr. Hammarskjöld is discussed in committee. It is now clear that the General Assembly went too far in giving the Secretary General powers even greater than those demanded by Mr. Lie when the famous purges in the secretariat were initiated. Lie announced at the time that the "house-cleaning operations" would be limited to those members of the staff over whom Washington claimed jurisdiction. In support of his policy he always referred to the "prerogatives" of the "host state"—a theory which his juridical advisers had invented for his benefit. Those who opposed the Assembly's grant of discretionary powers to the Secretary General said that the purge would sooner or later be extended to the whole U. N. staff, irrespective of nationality. That is now being done.

People close to Mr. Hammarskjöld insist that he does not intend to repeat the errors that ruined the final period of his predecessor's term of office. He has indicated his intention to so administer the secretariat that even the present reduction of personnel—the so-called streamlining operation—would be accepted as "fair," if not pleasant to those eliminated. He is said to believe that U. N. staff problems can be dealt with as they would be in any large institution, public or business; he hopes to establish trust, and a feeling of security.

Listening to such witnesses, one would like to assume that Mr. Hammarskjöld is not aware of the events I have just described or that his assistants are acting against his will and without his knowledge. But the facts, unfortunately, controvert this theory. One can only hope he will put a stop to practices that both violate the principle of U. N. independence and sovereignty and create demoralization among the staff. It would be sad if he should one day be obliged to write his memoirs as Secretary General in the mood of pathetic self-justification that characterizes Trygve Lie's new book, "In the Cause of Peace."



THE SUPREME COURT

And Our Civil Liberties . . by C. Herman Pritchett

IN ITS recent school-segregation decision the Supreme Court boldly accepted the responsibility of enforcing the libertarian mandate of the Constitution and striking down contradicting though well-intrenched legislative and social policies. This action was in marked contrast with the court's record in other civil-liberties areas, where for the past six or seven years it has rather consistently drawn back from constitutional challenges. Particularly has this been true of the various legislative and executive programs aimed at subversion—the Smith Act prosecutions, Truman's loyalty order, Eisenhower's loyalty-security program, the Internal Security Act of 1950, the McCarran-Walter Immigration and Nationality Act of 1952, and the Justice Department's deportation activities.

The Supreme Court has seen little to question here, though the controls established seem in several respects to challenge traditional practices which many Americans had assumed were embodied in our constitutional system. The court's principal role has been to legitimize these activities, either through positive certification of constitutionality or, more commonly, through narrow construction of its own judicial powers of review and deference to executive and legislative judgment. The adoption of a new batch of Communist-control measures by the Eighty-third Congress makes it particularly timely to assess the recent court's performance.

First, the fad for loyalty oaths for public employees could have been stopped dead in its tracks by a court holding that they violated the constitutional "bill of attainder" provision. This ban on legislative punishment was the device

which five justices of the court roused from an eighty-year slumber to decide the Lovett case in 1946. But in 1951 only Black, Douglas, and Burton were willing to take this view in *Garner v. Board of Public Works*. The court majority was clearly affected by a widespread attitude, supported by a considerable number of precedents, that public employment is a "privilege" revocable at the whim of the sovereign, and that consequently almost any exertion of governmental power in this field would be constitutional and beyond the reach of judicial control.

Closely related is the loyalty program for federal employees; arbitrary enough in its operation under the Truman order, this was further stripped of procedural protections under Eisenhower and degraded into a scandalous "numbers game" for partisan purposes. For every Chasnow case where the government has confessed the injustice done to an employee wrongfully discharged and endeavored to make amends for his ruined career, there are assuredly scores of equally flagrant instances of removal due to spite, politics, race, or stupidity which are never redressed.

Judicial review of these proceedings has been foreclosed by the same "privilege" concept of public employment. Justice Holmes may have laid the foundation for this notion by his famous 1892 dictum in the New Bedford police-removal case: "The petitioner may have a constitutional right to talk politics, but he has no constitutional right to be a policeman." At the federal level this principle has meant that procedural protections in the removal of employees are only those that the executive or Congress may choose to provide. No constitutional due-process standards need be met.

The result is that a finding of disloyalty against a federal employee can be based, as in the Bailey case, on "unsworn reports in the secret files to the effect that unsworn statements of a gen-

eral sort, purporting to connect appellant with communism, had been made by unnamed persons." When the Supreme Court considered this case in 1951, it divided four to four—Clark not participating—and was consequently unable to render an opinion, though a New York state loyalty program was definitely upheld in 1952. Justice Jackson, who along with Frankfurter, Black, and Douglas voted against the legality of the government's procedure, showed how due-process requirements could be reconciled with the privilege concept by saying: "The fact that one may not have a legal right to get or keep a government post does not mean that he can be adjudged ineligible illegally."

JUSTICE DOUGLAS returned to a more general examination of the "right to work" problem in his 1954 Barsky dissent. Here the court majority upheld the power of New York to bar from medical practice for six months a doctor who had sought to test the jurisdiction of the House Un-American Activities Committee by the only feasible method, namely, refusing to obey its subpoena. Barsky guessed wrong on the court's views of the committee's powers and went to jail for five months, thereby laying himself open to suspension of his license to practice under New York law. Douglas, commenting on this result, traced it back to Holmes's "pernicious" New Bedford dictum. "By that reasoning," he said, "a man has no constitutional right to work." To Douglas the right to work is "the most precious liberty that man possesses," and interference with that right, whether affecting a government employee or a grocery clerk, should be subjected, in his view, to strict constitutional test enforced by close judicial surveillance. But he speaks for a minority of two on the present court.

Mention of the Barsky case makes it appropriate to take up next the judicial attitude toward Congressional investiga-

C. HERMAN PRITCHETT, author of *"The Roosevelt Court"* (1948) and *"Civil Liberties and the Vinson Court"* (1954), is chairman of the Department of Political Science at the University of Chicago.

tive power. It is now rather hard to remember when Dies and Thomas, who by the standards prevailing in 1954 must be ranked as bush-league demagogues, were the major source of concern over abuse of investigatory powers, but the Committee on Un-American Activities under their leadership did originate some substantive issues for judicial consideration. These were generally settled at the Court of Appeals level in favor of the committee, and only in the Eisler case did the Supreme Court grant review.

IT IS easy to understand the court's apparent desire to avoid involvement in fixing metes and bounds for legislative inquiry. Particularly might the court feel reluctant to substitute judicial for legislative judgment on matters in which the safety of the country is alleged to be at issue. As Justice Jackson said in the Eisler case, "It would be an unwarranted act of judicial usurpation . . . to assume for the courts the function of supervising Congressional committees. I should . . . leave the responsibility for the behavior of its committees squarely on the shoulders of Congress."

Actually the question is not quite that simple. Obviously the Supreme Court should not supervise Congressional committees. That is not the way these issues arise. They arise because a Congressional committee contends that a witness is in contempt or has perjured himself before the committee, and the courts are resorted to in order to determine the facts and to assess the penalty. Under these circumstances is the court "supervising" the committee if it makes its own independent judgment as to the constitutional or statutory basis for the committee inquiry in deciding whether a witness should go to jail?

The only intimation by the recent court of willingness to assume this review function came in the 1953 Rumely case, and the special circumstances there make it a doubtful index of future action. The Regulation of Lobbying Act requires disclosure of contributions of \$500 or more received or expended by organizations to influence legislation. The self-styled Committee for Constitutional Government adopted a technique of accepting contributions of over \$490 only if the donor specified that the funds be used for distribution of its books and pamphlets. Seeing in this

a transparent device for evading the law, the House Select Committee on Lobbying Activities asked the organization for the names of the purchasers of its literature, but the information was refused. The court unanimously reversed Rumely's conviction for contempt. A declaration that the legislative demand violated the First Amendment, favored by Black and Douglas, was avoided by Frankfurter's opinion for the court, which took the position that lobbying as defined in the statute covered only representations made directly to Congress or its members, not the influencing of opinion by the circulation of books and pamphlets.

ONE may contrast the Supreme Court's dexterity in avoiding any indication of limits on Congressional committees with the position taken by four of the nine judges on the District of Columbia Court of Appeals in the recent Lattimore decision. It will be recalled that the full bench, by an eight-to-one vote, sustained dismissal of two key counts in the perjury indictment against Lattimore, but by a five-to-four vote sustained two other counts which had been dismissed by the district judge. The four dissenters on this latter point, in an opinion by Judge Edgerton, boldly challenged the Senate Internal Security Committee's right to roam at will in its questioning, or to go into "immaterial matters." The committee, Edgerton said, was "to study what goes on in the nineteen-fifties, not what went on in the nineteen-thirties." It was to be "a watchman, not a historian." The resolution under which the committee was set up, Edgerton went on, "expresses no interest in persons who were, or may have been, Communist-dominated years ago, when Hitler, not Russia, was threatening the world and many people were Communist sympathizers who are now anti-Communists." Moreover, the resolution creating the committee charged it with inquiry concerning "administration, operation, and enforcement" of the laws. "Even today it is not illegal to publish an article by a known Communist. It was not illegal between 1934 and 1941. Therefore the question whether Lattimore did so between 1934 and 1941 has no connection" with the committee's assignment. Apparently Edgerton and his three colleagues did

not feel that their ruling amounted to "supervision" of the Internal Security Committee.

IN THE matter of subversion-control programs aimed at aliens, judicial review must surmount the double obstacle of broad legislative power and administrative responsibility for the conduct of foreign relations. The absolute power of Congress to determine the standards to be met by aliens seeking admission to the United States is well established. Early discussions of exclusion policy often assumed that Congressional authority to regulate immigration was based on the commerce clause or the war power. The 1903 act excluding anarchists or persons believing in or advocating overthrow of the government by force and violence—the first legislation denying admission to aliens on the ground of objectionable beliefs—scarcely seemed to rest on either of those powers; yet the Supreme Court simply noted in 1904 that the act was "not open to constitutional objection." This is the present policy as well. In fact, the court in the 1953 Mezei case extended the government's power over exclusion to cover refusal of readmission to an alien who had been twenty-five years a resident of the United States.

Deportation of legally admitted aliens

Supreme Court Score on Civil Liberties

The following table covers fifty-one divided decisions of the Supreme Court between 1946 and 1953 involving governmental action against aliens (twenty-three cases) and general civil-liberties issues (twenty-eight cases), such as free speech, Smith Act, loyalty investigations, etc. The table gives the *percentage* of decisions in which each justice, as well as the court as a whole, supported the individuals' case as against the government's.

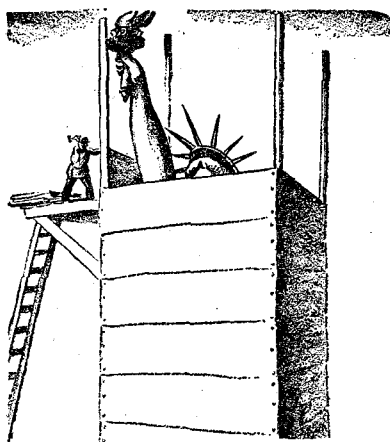
	Aliens 39%	Civil Liberties 21%	Combined Percentage 30%
Supreme Court (as a whole)			
Murphy (1947-49)	100	100	100
Rutledge (1947-49)	100	100	100
Black	100	96	98
Douglas	63	100	84
Frankfurter	82	44	61
Jackson	50	22	35
Burton	35	14	24
Vinson	30	11	20
Minton (1949-53)	10	15	17
Reed	9	18	14
Clark (1949-53)	14	10	12

presents a different problem from exclusion, but power to effect deportations has been treated as equally broad. Deportation, the court held in 1893, was not punishment, and failure to observe the procedures of judicial trials did not violate due process of law. More recently the court has been less certain on this point, and the 1951 decision in *Jordan v. DeGeorge* appeared to admit that deportation is a penalty and must meet certain due-process standards.

Any expectations built up by this decision, however, were promptly dashed by the 1952 case of *Harisiades v. Shughnessy*. Here the court majority upheld a provision of the Alien Registration Act of 1940 authorizing deportation of legally resident aliens because of membership in the Communist Party though their membership terminated before enactment of the statute. Justice Jackson, writing for the majority, denied that a due-process objection could be based on the fact that the power to deport was "unreasonably and harshly exercised" by this statute, and Justice Frankfurter agreed that "the place to resist unwise or cruel legislation touching aliens is the Congress, not this court."

Perhaps the most striking result achieved by judicial deference to legislative and executive power over aliens is seen in the 1952 case of *Carlson v. Landon*. The question was whether the Attorney General, after taking into custody active alien Communists, could under the Internal Security Act hold them in jail without bail at his discretion pending determination of their deportability. Such proceedings may run on for years, and the foreign country to which they are ordered deported may refuse to accept them. Thus a denial of bail may conceivably amount to a life sentence of "executive imprisonment." But the court majority held that, in view of Congress's plenary power to deport, the Attorney General could be given such discretionary power.

PROBABLY more significant than any of the foregoing, however, is the Supreme Court's acceptance, in the Dennis case, of the constitutionality of the Smith Act as an instrument for jailing the leaders of the American Communist Party. While space is lacking here for any intensive analysis, the court's dilemma can be outlined.



Fitzpatrick in the St. Louis Post-Dispatch
All in the Name of Security

None of the Smith Act trials (except the recent Claude Lightfoot indictment in Chicago) have been for the substantive crimes defined by the act; they have been for conspiracy—that is, for illegal agreements to advocate and teach, and to organize as the Communist Party a group which allegedly advocates and teaches, the forcible overthrow of the government. A criminal-conspiracy charge, Justice Jackson has noted, is "a dragnet device capable of perversion into an instrument of injustice in the hands of a partisan or complacent judiciary."

The routine for proving these conspiracy charges which has yielded almost unbroken success is as follows. The defendants are identified by F. B. I. paid informants and former members of the party as members and officers of the party who had been present at party meetings where party literature was sold or distributed or the principles of Marxism-Leninism were discussed. These writings are then introduced as exhibits, and excerpts are read, with emphasis on key phrases of an allegedly revolutionary character. Usually no effort is made to prove that the particular defendants understood these writings as advocating violent revolution, or that they themselves ever made any statements of that character. The jury's conclusion as to the guilt of the defendants must be based on a series of inferences: that the principles of Marxism-Leninism are the same as advocacy of overthrow of the United States government by force and violence; that the Communist Party, being based on Marxism-Leninism, favors such overthrow; that the defendants, being Communists, necessarily knew that

this was the actual purpose of the party.

The Smith Act prosecutions, then, have not been based on Communist "plotting and scheming against the free world," which, as Justice Douglas says, "are common knowledge." Rather, the prosecutions have been for joining to organize a party and to teach and advocate certain ideas. By confirming the convictions the court has inevitably raised questions concerning the future scope of protection for freedom of speech and freedom of assembly. It is easy to say that the Communist Party is a special case, and that whatever happens to it is no more than it deserves. But the effect of at least two features of the Dennis decision will not be easily confined to Communist Party cases.

ONE concerns a weakening of the standards of proof in criminal cases. The court held in Dennis that the defendants could be constitutionally convicted on speech charges, taking judicial notice of the fact that as members of the Communist conspiracy they were guilty of much graver crimes, though the greater crimes were not charged and no evidence was presented to prove them.

Second, it interpreted the "clear and present danger" rule as requiring a showing, not that the Communist Party had any real potentialities of organizing a revolution in the United States, but only that it had the intention of achieving this purpose as speedily as circumstances would permit. There is of course reason to believe that the protective value of the clear-and-present-danger test has been consistently overrated. In its original statement by Justice Holmes it supplied a justification for sending men to jail, and when Holmes and Brandeis sought to make it a guaranty of freedom, the court denied their interpretation.

Their victory came belatedly on the Roosevelt court, and was short-lived. Even before the Dennis case Justice Frankfurter was seeking to abandon the test entirely, on the ground that Justices Black and Douglas had turned it into a slogan supporting absolutist conceptions of freedom. Jackson's position was that it was a satisfactory and even necessary judicial aid in small street-corner controversies, but that it was unworkable when its application required judicial estimation of the danger from a world

revolutionary movement and the likelihood of its success. The court majority's solution was to maintain judicial responsibility for applying the test, even in Smith Act cases, but to make its standards so easy that no prosecution effort could fail to meet them.

Thus the court accommodated itself to the government's strategy of preserving the technical legality of the Communist Party but subjecting anyone stupid enough to enter it or remain in it to the risk of successful prosecution for conspiracy to advocate overthrow of the government. From the kind of evidence offered in Smith Act cases it seems clear that these have been prosecutions for individual guilt only in form, that in substance it was the Communist Party which was being prosecuted and convicted. The flat outlawry of the party by the recently enacted Communist Control Act, no matter what new problems of constitutionality and enforcement it may raise, can certainly be defended as a more honest method of obtaining this result.

In summing up, it can be said that the court's record has been one of sub-

servience and accommodation to the legislative and executive policy in the fight on subversion. The reasons are not hard to understand—the seriousness of the problems involved, the natural tendency of the court to follow the election returns, the tradition of judicial limitation in certain areas of public policy, and the court's insistence that it is not concerned with the wisdom of legislation but only with its constitutionality. It is possible to grant much weight to these views and still to be unhappy with the stewardship of the recent court.

First, the court may justly be criticized for having failed to convey to the nation a sense of the primacy of libertarian goals in a democratic society. It has done this not simply by its decisions ratifying non-libertarian results. Even when it has taken a liberal position, it has typically spoken with such a confusion of voices that the impact of its teaching has been diffused and lost. In some fashion the court needs to make known, with the decisiveness and authority of its school-segregation decision, that it realizes and will defend the priority which the American constitutional sys-

tem assigns to the basic civil liberties.

Second, the court has done a disservice by giving encouragement to the belief that judicial review is a fundamentally undemocratic feature of the American Constitution. It has done this inferentially by its refusal to examine, or its exaggerated deference to, legislative action. More important, it has done it directly by such statements as Frankfurter's in the Dennis case, where he said that a refusal to enforce the Smith Act would have "impaired or restricted . . . the democratic process," adding: "Courts are not representative bodies. They are not designed to be a good reflex of a democratic society."

This is true. It is also true, as Robert McCloskey has put it, that "arbitrary power is the exception in the American system." And when the result of judicial deference and self-limitation is to place arbitrary power in the hands of the legislature or the executive, then the Supreme Court needs to have some better reason than doubt as to its own ability to interpret the general will before it declines to enforce constitutional limitations.

FROM SEATO TO ATO

South Africa Seeks Allies . . . by Fenner Brockway

London

THE whites of South Africa have two fears. The first is of an African revolution. The second is of an assault on their territory in war.

These two fears are so much in the mind of the government that it has just sent to London its Defense Minister, F. C. Erasmus; its Chief of Staff of Land, Air, and Sea, Lieutenant General Dewitt; and the Secretary General of

the Defense Ministry, H. F. Cuff. For a fortnight they were in conclave with Lord Alexander, the British Defense Minister; Duncan Sandys, Sir Winston Churchill's son-in-law and also Minister of Supply; and Viscount Swinton, the Minister for Commonwealth Relations.

The fears have not been removed. No important decisions were made. The British government did not have anything to say at the end of the talks, and Mr. Erasmus could say only that the discussions were conducted in a very friendly spirit and that they enabled a full exchange of views to take place. Of course he said he was satisfied, but two days after his return to South Africa, Dr. Malan, the Prime Minister, delivered a provocative speech on South African-British relations, announcing

that the establishment of a republic was one of the most important aims of his party, and that whether or not it remained within the Commonwealth would be decided solely by the interests of South Africa.

Nevertheless, we shall hear more of this subject. In the coming months South Africa will ask that SEATO be followed by ATO. So we had better be forewarned about South Africa's intentions.

First, the fear of African revolution. When Mr. Erasmus arrived in London he said: "A new cloud has appeared on the African horizon—the 'Quit Africa' policy of anti-colonialism. It not only plays into the hands of Communists but may be inspired by them. For southern Africa this question may become vital." South Africa is so scared of an African

FENNER BROCKWAY, Labor M.P. for Eton and Slough, is popularly known in England as "M.P. for Africa," because of his interest in African affairs. He is chairman of the Congress of People Against Imperialism, which includes all major non-Communist democratic movements in Africa.

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rising that it will not recruit any colored person in its armed forces. "One does not hand a rifle to a child," says Dr. Malan.

IT IS here that the first difficulty in the London talks must have taken place. In all the British colonies in Africa there are African regiments. The one exception has been Southern Rhodesia, but it has been decided that the Rhodesian African Rifles shall become a fully serviceable fighting unit.

Dr. Malan takes the view that if Africans are trained in arms they may eventually turn their knowledge against the whites, and there is something to be said for his fear if justice is not done to the Africans. The revolt in Madagascar at the end of the war was largely the work of Malagasies who had served with the French troops, and the Mau Mau fighters in Kenya learned guerrilla warfare from service with the British forces in Southeast Asia.

The second obstacle to a London agreement on this subject is Britain's concern not to estrange India still farther. In a speech in the South African Parliament on August 2 Dr. Malan made it clear that he regarded India as the strongest threat to South Africa. "Nehru's anti-colonial policy," he said, "means in practice for Africa that the four European powers—practically the white man—must withdraw from Africa." He wants a pact among all the European powers which have territories in Africa for common action against an African rising, but the difficulty is that France, Belgium, Portugal, and Spain also include Africans in their armed forces, and these countries do not share the color-bar prejudices which are the basis of Dr. Malan's native policy.

Here, perhaps, we reach the heart of the problem. There is a basic difference of attitude toward the African population. Britain, with all the faults of its colonialism, has set itself the goal of establishing self-governing democracies in which the Africans will finally enjoy equal political rights. In West Africa, the Gold Coast and Nigeria are approaching this goal. The French conception of an empire used to be nearer the South African view, but under Mendès-France the right of Indo-China to independence has been recognized and Tunisia has advanced far toward

self-government. Unless South Africa changes its policy, it will not succeed in establishing a community of European powers in Africa. It will isolate itself from the European colonial powers.

On the second issue Dr. Malan and his colleagues have greater reason for hope. The West must be concerned about the unprotected strategic position of South Africa. In the first place, the withdrawal of British troops from Suez and the uncertainty of the eastern Mediterranean in the event of war make the coast of the South African Union of first importance in the control of the Indian Ocean.

Secondly, South Africa is now the largest uranium-producing country in the world. It supplies the Western powers, and particularly Britain, with the raw material of atomic warfare and would clearly be a first object of attack in a world war. Moreover, the new weapons of warfare have changed the whole position since the last war, when South Africa was on the circumference of hostilities and when Dr. Malan and his colleagues could safely urge the



Prime Minister Malan

policy of neutrality. Jet planes carrying hydrogen bombs and the inter-continental guided missiles which are approaching production are conquering space and make South Africa's uranium mines an achievable target.

South Africa could not possibly defend itself. Moreover, it realizes that Britain, which in the past has had this responsibility, cannot defend it either. Theoretically Britain has a naval base at Simonstown in False Bay—an appropriate name—thirty miles south of Capetown. But the British fleet there is composed of one flagship, and in a world war Britain would be so much engaged in defending Europe and itself that its forces would not be deployable at the

southern end of the African continent.

For these reasons the South African government desires that, in some form or other, the continent of Africa should be included within the sphere of NATO. From what one can gather of the London talks there was a proposal that South African prestige should be satisfied by terminating Britain's exclusive control of the naval base at Simonstown and providing that it, as well as two small naval bases at Saldanha Bay and Durban, should be made available to both British and other Western fleets. France, because of its possession of Madagascar nearby, is specially involved. Any Western strategy in this area would be based upon its natural harbor at Diego Suarez, which could accommodate the fleets of the world.

ALTHOUGH the London conversations did not reach decisions on this matter, more will be heard of it. Soon kites will be flown for an ATO to supplement SEATO. Two comments may be made about this.

The first is that the African people are likely to resent suggestions for the military disposal of their continent just as the Asian peoples resent them. The instinctive attitude of most African representatives is the same as that of India. They feel that they have no responsibility for the division of the world into two antagonistic blocs, and that their worst enemies are the colonial powers. Even when these powers give way to African governments, as in the case of the Gold Coast, the new governments, as illustrated by the attitude of Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, declare their independence of both Russian and American combinations. This widespread attitude among Africans would be intensified if the South African government played a leading part in any military pact involving the fate of the continent.

The second comment is that the South African government is openly defying the United Nations in its refusal to regard Southwest Africa as a trust territory. It is a little too much that Dr. Malan should ask for the military aid of America, Britain, and the other Western powers against totalitarianism when, in addition to challenging U. N. authority, he himself challenges democracy and practices totalitarianism in his relations with the majority of his people.

WELFARE FUND PROBE

9,000,000 Futures at Stake . . by *Herbert Little*

REPORTS of irregularities in the handling of union pension and welfare funds have been featured in the newspapers for several weeks. The situation is worrying not only labor leaders but all persons concerned with social-welfare measures.

The future of nine million workers and their families depends on how union welfare funds aggregating billions of dollars are administered. No laws, federal or state, require audits of these funds to be made and published, though of course the laws against theft and embezzlement can be applied. The sums collected and disbursed are so large that the problem of providing adequate safeguards against the carelessness or dishonesty of individuals in positions of trust inevitably arises. (The bituminous-coal welfare and retirement fund, established in 1946, recently reported that it had taken in three-quarters of a billion dollars in eight years; the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union paid out more than \$36,000,000 in benefits last year.) Standards must also be set to protect investments, and there must be adequate auditing to inform the workers how their money is being handled.

Up to twenty-five years ago unions financed plans for death benefits, disability payments, and the like out of dues and assessments. During World War II, when money wages were frozen, they began to press for "fringe benefits" in the form of sickness and old-age assistance paid wholly or in part by the employer and negotiated by collective bargaining. Such welfare plans were favored by employers and employees alike as a means of improving worker security and job stability and they have been extended and expanded during the last decade.

The 1947 Taft-Hartley Labor-Management Relations Act has a provision requiring that employers be given a

voice equal to that of the unions in the operation of company-financed welfare funds. However, it appears that most employers take little part in the actual operation of such funds.

The major unions, including the United Mine Workers and the I. L. G. W. U., are conscientious about audits and reports, but countless funds established by local or regional collective bargaining have no outside supervision. In many instances the international union's constitution does not give it authority to audit or supervise the funds of its locals.

The danger of corruption and graft is recognized by the union leaders. The American Federation of Labor's Executive Council recommended to the federation's convention in Los Angeles last month that the constitution be changed to require an annual audit of all directly affiliated unions. There are about 800 of these, with about 200,000 members. President George Meany, in announcing this action, commented: "It is my hope that this action will indicate a way in which the internationals can at least make a start toward exercising some supervision of local welfare funds."

ORGANIZED labor's own attempt to assure the honesty and efficiency of its welfare programs is being supplemented by Congressional inquiries. Two of these have already begun their fact-finding in preparation for hearings in the late fall and winter.

Senator Ives of New York is the chairman of a Senate labor subcommittee directed to "make a full and complete study and investigation with respect to the establishment and operation of employee welfare and pension funds under collective-bargaining agreements, for the purpose of ascertaining whether legislation is necessary for the conservation of such funds and the protection of the interests of the beneficiaries thereof." The House Labor Committee has ordered a similar investigation under the direction of its chairman, Representative

Samuel K. McConnell, Jr., Republican, of Pennsylvania. A third investigation, more of the scatter-gun type, is being conducted by a subcommittee of the House Government Committee, headed by Representative George H. Bender, Republican, of Ohio, who is currently very busy running for the Senate. This group is charged with investigating all sorts of union irregularities, including racketeering. It has already touched upon the misuse of local-union welfare funds and is conducting fishing expeditions into jurisdictional quarrels and secondary boycotts.

It is expected that a new statement of the problems involved will be presented in the reports of these committees. New standards of fund administration may emerge. At least one report, that of the Ives committee, will discuss whether there is a need for state or federal legislation to safeguard the billions held in trust for relief of the sick and aged. If the Taft-Hartley Act comes up again for amendment next year, as is likely, some action on this problem is almost certain.

Union leaders dread and distrust the idea of state regulation. They feel that anti-labor groups have more influence with state legislatures and state officials than with Congress, and they are probably justified by the various "right-to-work" and "right-to-scab" laws enacted by states in recent years.

The nearest thing to a crystallization of thinking on the problem has come from President David Dubinsky of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, who has suggested that labor should support legislation setting up "a minimum code of propriety and responsibility" in handling these funds. In a recent article in the *American Federationist*, the official A. F. of L. magazine, Dubinsky pointed out that although the law requires joint union-employer administration, "organized labor has the responsibility of helping to clean up these funds."

Dubinsky's own union has for many

HERBERT LITTLE was formerly director of information for the United States Department of Labor.

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years audited the books of its local unions and of the joint boards which handle the separate funds, and has published the full facts on income, outgo, and administrative costs. In the I. L. G. W. U. costs are restricted to 3 per cent of the total paid out in retirement benefits and 5 per cent of the vacation benefits. It is in the "administrative costs" of some funds that scattered and piecemeal investigations have found the

fat which feeds the racketeers—special insurance companies created to carry policies, "overnight" consultants to pick off big fees, and commissions to agents who perform little or no service.

The United Mine Workers' bituminous-coal fund showed in its recent annual report that its administrative costs were 3 per cent during the last year and 2.8 per cent during its eight years of operation. It also published an audit by

a certified public accountant testifying to the adequacy of the controls over the fund's operations.

Labor men who have studied the situation carefully advocate federal legislation establishing standards of administration, and perhaps setting up a reporting agency to provide publicity outlets. But responsibility must remain primarily with the participating unions and employe

ASHES OF DEATH

First H-Bomb Victims . . by Elizabeth Weideman

LIKE the gentle rain from heaven the ashes fell on the just and the unjust. They fell on the Fukuryu Maru, a Japanese fishing boat, and now one of its twenty-three stricken crewmen has died. In the United States newspapers and radio noted briefly that he died of "jaundice resulting from radio-active dust."

The anti-American reaction of the Japanese people was given more space. A number of reports said that this "hysteria" was Communist-fomented, but only someone profoundly ignorant of the feeling of the Japanese people about atomic weapons could so distort the truth. The implications of Hiroshima in terms of human suffering have not yet been grasped by the American people; the power of a gentle fall of ash to terrify a nation seems beyond our understanding. Perhaps the following letter, written recently by the president of the Japanese section of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom and addressed to league headquarters in the United States, will give some insight into the Japanese frame of mind.

To those who are not familiar with the "atomic disease," the present condition of these men of the Fukuryu Maru may not

seem very critical. In fact, though the number of their white corpuscles has decreased to about half the normal number, this does not indicate an immediate peril; and the complaints of those who had eaten the "Bikini tuna" seem mostly due to imaginary or psychological effects of the food.

These facts, however, are far from reassuring, for this incident occurred just at the time that we Japanese were beginning to realize that the tragedy of Hiroshima and Nagasaki had lasted much longer than we dreamed. In the past three years there have been reported several cases of pitiful deaths of school children who as babies survived Hiroshima or Nagasaki seemingly unharmed. These children looked quite normal until they fell ill six or seven years after that day, their bodies giving way to the destructive operation that had been secretly working within them. So far, nothing can save those in whom the symptoms of the "atomic disease" manifest themselves, and they die after indescribable months of agony. Grown-ups are no exception to this liability. . . .

Apprehension was increased by the explosion of other bombs, the latest in the Soviet Union, and by the successive threats to peace—the crisis in Indo-China, the United States' unwillingness to allow Japanese-Chinese trade, the demands of the Philippines, Burma, and Indonesia for reparations. These developments, plus widespread Japanese resentment at their country's rearmament, have not been conducive to friendly relations between Japan and America. The twenty-three fishermen have become a symbol of the disillusion recent years have brought to people who had hoped that their post-war "peace" constitution, adopted under the tutelage of the United States, would usher in a period of peace and serenity.

IN JULY the Japanese Y. W. C. A. investigated the Fukuryu Maru case and mailed its findings to Y. W. C. A.'s all over the world with an introductory letter signed by its president, Tamaki Eumura, a distinguished Presbyterian minister. Mrs. Eumura was the first Japanese woman to visit the United States after the war. She came bearing a gift to the Council of Churchwomen from the Empress of Japan and displayed a true spirit of reconciliation as she traveled through the country on a speaking tour. She is incontestably a woman of great intelligence and complete integrity. She said in her letter:

Because we know that you are deeply concerned over the injury that was sustained by the twenty-three Japanese fish-



Walt Partymiller in the York (Pa.) Gazette and Daily

May It Be the Last

ELIZABETH WEIDEMAN is referent on Asia to the Policy Committee of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom and was the United States delegate to the meeting of the league's International Executive in Denmark in August. She has spent several years in Japan.

ermen, some of whom are still in a dangerous condition, and over the effect of the tests on the inhabitants of the surrounding islands, we, as a Y. W. C. A. in a country affected by the test, have felt under obligation to assemble accurate, concrete information and send it to you. . . . We want it clearly understood that our motive in writing is not to censure the injury-inflicting country but to express our deep conviction that Christians throughout the world today must think and struggle together in relation to this problem, which affects the well-being of the entire human race.

The Social Responsibility Committee of the Japan Y. W. C. A. has consulted physical, medical, and other authorities and has endeavored to present as completely accurate a picture as possible. This material has been thoroughly studied by the executive of the Japan Y. W. C. A. and is now being sent to you with the hope and prayer that you will understand our purpose and join with us in our common task.

THE documents appended to this letter would amply account for the present state of mind of the Japanese public.

A report submitted by the Japanese Foreign Office to United States Ambassador John Allison ran:

On March 1 at 4:12 a.m. a flash of light . . . was observed. Seven or eight minutes later two explosions were heard. A pyramid-shaped cloud was seen to rise. . . . Being conscious of danger, the crew immediately began to pull in the ropes which had been let out to catch the tuna. . . . About three hours later, when all the crew members except the engine crew were on the deck pulling in the ropes, ashes began to fall, and soon there was a white covering. The ship was moving in a direction opposite to that from which the rain of ashes was coming. . . . Until the following day at noon the ashes continued to fall.

The head meteorologist at Osaka Observatory reported:

Ashes which were thrown up to greater heights were carried eastward by the west wind to beyond the shores of the American continent.

The effect on fish was very serious:

After the Bikini test fishing vessels returning to Japan from outside not only the restricted area but also the very wide area later designated as a danger zone by the Japanese government proved to be radioactive, and their catch was also radioactive. Although without investigation and research it is impossible to draw definite conclusions, Professor Kimagori of the College of Marine Science found by X-ray that the reproductive cells of the

fish were so changed that the first generation were abnormal and the eggs of the first generation were completely sterile. This poses a very serious problem for the fishing industry not only of Japan but of the entire Pacific area.

Tests of rain revealed a new danger:

In various parts of Japan from May 16 to 21 rain which has tested to be fairly strongly radioactive has fallen. . . . There are many places in Japan which depend for their drinking-water supply completely on rain. . . . This situation of radioactive rain has caused profound fear among people generally.

The condition of the crew of the Lucky Dragon was described as follows:

Though the patients have sustained external injuries . . . the most serious aspect of their condition is connected with the injury to the hematopoietic organs, which are the blood-cell-producing parts of the body such as bone marrow. The external skin injuries were not simply burns; the skin cells were destroyed by radioactive dust and gangrene set in. . . . Despite the fact that many blood transfusions were given and blood-producing drugs were administered, the number of blood-corpuscles has not increased, and a tendency to hemorrhage has appeared. . . . Their condition is very similar to that of severe cases of radiation illness resulting from the Hiroshima atom bombing, and since half of those injured at Hiroshima have since died, it is not possible to be optimistic with regard to the condition of the injured fishermen.

Professor Masao Tsuzuki of Tokyo University has repeatedly appealed to American authorities to supply information about the nature of the radioactive dust. "If this information is known," he said, "it will be possible to diagnose more accurately the exact nature of the radiation illness and to utilize more effective therapy."

Statements by American officials had "a cold ring in the ears of the Japanese people." Secretary Dulles told the Washington press that the reported burning by radiation of the fishermen was "an unfortunate accident." Chairman Strauss of the Atomic Energy Commission said that they "must have been well within the danger area." Representative W. Sterling Cole, chairman of the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy, was quoted by a Washington reporter as saying: "I have no official report. We don't know whether the fishermen were in the area deliberately or accidentally. It could be both." He added that it was possible that the fishermen were spying on the

tests, but that this no doubt was one of the things the commission would attempt to determine.

Newsweek for March 29 stated that all the fishermen would completely recover within a month, but that whether or not the hysteria of the Japanese people would be calmed in that time was another question.

Life for March 29 quoted Dr. John Morton of the Hiroshima headquarters of the Atomic Bomb Casualty Commission: "The patients are now in better shape than I had thought. . . . I now think recovery will take from three weeks to a month. I personally will request that experts be sent out to help from America."

In spite of this assurance Crewman Yamamoto was worried. He said: "I read in the newspapers that the American scientists made a miscalculation when they estimated the power of their new bomb. I cannot help wondering if the doctor's prediction for us will really come true."

A noteworthy step toward wiping out the memory of the disaster would be the implementation of President Eisenhower's atomic-pool proposal. It should be used not only as a propaganda device in the world forum but as a step toward the actual alleviation of human need. And world disarmament should have priority with the United Nations as it does in the minds and hearts of the women of Japan.

Peace and Freedom

Opposing rearmaments as a violation of Japan's "peace" constitution, a group of distinguished Japanese which included a former Minister of Justice, the vice-speaker of the House of Representatives, and a woman member of the House of Councilors, issued a statement in August, 1953, which said in part: "In order to protect the independence of our country and the human rights of the people, there is left no other way for Japan but to improve domestic policies based on peace, rather than relying on armaments . . . without freedom there is no peace and without peace there is no freedom."

The signatories have since joined with other Japanese anti-rearmament groups to form the Association for the Defense of the Peace Constitution.

BOOKS

Communists by Dos Passos

MOST LIKELY TO SUCCEED. By John Dos Passos. Prentice-Hall. \$3.50.

By Harold Clurman

IN "U. S. A." John Dos Passos was able to combine a picaresque chronicle of an epoch with various forms of expressionistic journalism and compose them into a sort of garish and melancholy jazz which was both significant and poetic. In "Most Likely to Succeed" he confines himself to a segment of the semi-intellectual bohemia of the theater and motion-picture world between 1926 and 1941. The basic material is interesting, but the novel is not. In fact, "Most Likely to Succeed" is a wretched piece of work. It achieves nothing.

The book might be said to resemble a scratchily written Lillian Ross type of "profile" which would be rejected by the *New Yorker*. Though its central figure is a phony, a mental incompetent, and a moral castrate, "Most Likely to Succeed" cannot even be called venomous. It is merely libelous.

Dos Passos was, an intimate of the group he attempts to delineate. The clues are too clear for the reader acquainted with the theater of the late twenties not to recognize in the "Craftsman's Theater" the short-lived organization known as the New Playwrights—which produced several of Dos Passos's plays. Some of these "revolting playwrights"—as Woolcott once dubbed them—were, according to Dos Passos, Communists even in the twenties; some of them were browbeaten into becoming Communists; all of them were aesthetic or social rebels.

What Dos Passos tries to indicate is that the outstanding figure among them—a playwright whom he calls J. E. D. Morris—was a frustrated character, in every way somewhat less than half a man, impelled to compensate for all his

HAROLD CLURMAN, The Nation's drama critic, has directed many outstanding plays, among them "Member of the Wedding" and "The Time of the Cuckoo."

shortcomings by a greediness for success on the most trivial level. This hunger for success makes him a victim of nefarious idiots who first trap him into joining the Communist Party and then hogtie him so that he is forced to jilt his "favorite" mistress on the ground that she is suspected by the comrades of being a federal agent.

The trouble with all this—apart from the fact that there is not a living character in the story—is that its people are vermin and therefore hardly typical of anything. (When Dostoevsky turned against the "revolutionary" friends of his youth in "The Possessed" he wrote a distorted masterpiece of immense psychological depth and satiric power.) It should be a literary axiom that the transformation of an ordinary louse into a Communist louse is nothing to write about.

The men whom Dos Passos has pasted together into his J. E. D. Morris were real people, in some cases genuinely gifted, worth-while people. That they were confused and neurotic was not the most serious of their faults; they suffered chiefly from spiritual and cultural

immaturity which made some of them Communists—and others professional anti-Communists. The American Communist movement among the intelligentsia always betrayed a singular lack of intelligence. And though its adherents never realized it, which was one symptom of its obtuseness, it hardly ever had any political meaning or weight.

It was an emotional movement which attracted to begin with all sorts of rebels against the religion of the dollar, Babbittry, and crass commercialism. The disoriented, lonely, and wounded people who felt deceived by most of their customary beliefs—or never had really developed any—were seeking a spiritual home, a faith. They yearned for substantial instead of rhetorical values, they hoped for social unity instead of anarchy, they wanted inspiration not ballyhoo.

In this respect they were good people in the soundest American tradition. That they were usually political boobs and cultural babies did not make them any less pathetic and human than hundreds of thousands of non-Communist Americans. That some of those who joined the movement were power hungry with Führer complexes, as well as moral snobs or perverts, hardly differentiates them from many members of more orthodox political groups. That so sensitive a man as Dos Passos should have missed the point only means that, after all these years, this is where we came in.

Optimistic Politician

ADVENTURES IN POLITICS. By Richard L. Neuberger. Oxford University Press. \$3.50.

By Phil Kerby

IN A nation firmly attached, sentimentally, to the doctrine of local self-government, the progressive flow of power from the states to Washington during the recent decades is an ironic commentary on democracy in theory and practice in the United States. It may be said that even under the present Administration, with its announced intention to reverse the trend, individual Americans look primarily to the federal government for the protection and promotion of their welfare.

PHIL KERBY is the editor of Frontier.

This means, essentially, that state government has defaulted its obligations in many respects, making it possible, and in fact imperative, for the federal government to move into the vacuum. State government, always an integral part of our political system, now assumes a greater importance than at any other time in many years, as President Eisenhower proposes to shift back to the states numerous responsibilities undertaken by the federal government since 1932.

Mr. Neuberger, writing without heat or partisan political bias, comes to the conclusion that the states, while clamoring for states' rights, are unprepared to assume these new responsibilities. His principal points are the following:

Cumbersome and archaic constitutions

hamstringing state governments. Rotten-borough election districts deprive millions of city residents of equal representation in the legislatures. Stifling one-party control dominates nearly half the states, with the result that legislators are largely unresponsive to the wishes of the electorate. Low pay bars from public service many competent persons. Simultaneous state, Congressional, and Presidential elections hopelessly confuse state problems with national issues.

While these points certainly demonstrate the decline of state government, it appears to this reviewer that to reach the heart of the matter an examination of the dominant sources of influence within our society is necessary. The fact is that state governments are made partly helpless and at times immobilized by combinations of private power in the hands of the business community. State governments become the pliant instrument of this force, which exerts pressure in many ways.

Mr. Neuberger writes: "I have sat in the Senate of my state listening to Senators who were lawyers for creameries arguing against low milk prices, and to men who were writing life-insurance policies for timber barons pleading for a low ceiling on income taxes." And again: "Seated in the small amphitheater of the Oregon legislature, we are well aware when the prior commitment of campaign funds has preordained a certain outcome on an important bill. "But, he asks, "are the Senators at fault or is the public the real culprit? What about a prevailing attitude toward state government which is so indifferent that it permits state Senators to be paid a trifling \$600 a year?" Mr. Neuberger believes that poorly paid legislators, who sometimes wrestle with their consciences but almost invariably win, "explain why state government is such a gamboling ground for privilege and monopoly."

Here again a closer examination of the basic structure of our society is indicated. Public indifference toward government, or lack of interest in or understanding of complex issues, can be traced to the basic values of our society. These values, in essence, are the standards of the commercial community, which makes them prevail through substantial influence on if not control of our educational system and a virtual monopoly of the media of communication.

Mr. Neuberger believes these problems can be solved if intelligent persons "of good-will" enter politics. In this respect he can point to his own example and that of his wife, Mr. Neuberger, a widely published writer on political and economic subjects, and his wife, Maurine Neuberger, make up a unique political

team. He is an Oregon state Senator and she is a member of the state's House of Representatives. Intimately acquainted with practical politics, Mr. Neuberger is nevertheless an optimist. He is now a candidate for the United States Senate from a state which has not elected a Democratic Senator in forty years.

Selected New Books

Biography and Memoirs

BELA SCHICK AND THE WORLD OF CHILDREN. By Antoni Gronowicz. Abelard-Schuman, \$3.75. The savior of children who developed the Schick test and diphtheria antitoxin undoubtedly merits a biography. This one is informal, intimate, and affectionate. The author does not hesitate to supply the very words and thoughts of his hero in conversations with relatives and professional associates, and also theirs. In consequence his book has an air of historical fiction rather than authentic biography.

THE OLD SCHOOL TIE. By Arthur Tuckerman. Macmillan. \$3.50. This memoir of an American boy's experience in an English public school at the turn of the century promises a novel note in the continuing flood of reminiscences. But the experience, though pleasantly related, seems rather superficial and neither informative nor very amusing. Much of the book is an account of the boy's mild adventures in traveling over Europe with a father who was temperamentally somewhat like Clarence Day's.

A BLESSED GIRL. By Lady Emily Lyttons. Lippincott. \$4. The author's Victorian girlhood is here presented, not as the usual hazy remembrance of things past, but through authentic letters. Between the ages of thirteen and twenty-one Emily Lytton bared her thoughts, feelings, and opinions in a correspondence with the Reverend Whitwell Elwin, her elderly confidant and mentor. As the granddaughter of Bulwer Lytton and daughter of a viceroy of India, she met many of the political and literary personages of her day and appraised them honestly and intelligently.

THE MEMOIRS OF AGA KHAN. Simon and Schuster. \$6. Aga Khan relates genially, but never forgetting his exalted rank, what surely must be all there is to tell about his long political and personal life. He describes his famous racing stables, refers to the myths about his great wealth, and deals, briefly and tactfully, with his own four marriages and that of his son to Riti Hayworth.

BENNETT EPSTEIN

Books in Brief

Love Affair with a Farm

MADELEINE YOUNG WIFE. The Autobiography of a French Girl. By Mrs. Robert Henrey. Dutton. \$4.

Mrs. Robert Henrey has won a great company of friends with her charming autobiographical books, "The Little Madeleine" and "Madeleine Grown Up." They will be eager to know how she fared as a young wife. They will not be disappointed: the same perfect naturalness is there, which reminds us of George Sand in her rural novels and of Colette in her tales of animals and gardens. This is Madeleine's love affair with a sixteenth-century Norman farm. The atmosphere, however, is somber. Madeleine had known hard times be-

fore, but they were a mere challenge to her triumphant vitality. All her zest for life cannot obliterate the facts that she had to flee before the invading Germans and that her home was looted by her farmers, Goguet and his Goguette, as mean a pair of rascals as Balzac ever drew. And there is throughout the book a heady odor of applejack, responsible for madness, murder, and suicide. Madeleine, so marvelously free from inhibitions in her first two books, has become strangely reticent. There is too much in the record that we cannot even surmise. Her activities in London, her independent earnings, her marital relations remain under a veil. However, all ends well: her son becomes a cinema star, her husband flits in the background as a

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sympathetic if subdued presence, and the farm is a Marie Antoinette jewel. "Oh, these little farmhouses, hidden among the apple trees, are they not too lovely for words?" This book should raise the price of real estate from Villers even unto Dozulé.

Stories of South Africa

THE DREAM AND THE DESERT.

By Uys Krige. Houghton Mifflin. \$3.

The element of race conflict is necessarily strong in South African fiction since it is explosive in South African life. The emphasis on it, however, entails a certain limitation even in the work of successful artists. Human existence, after all, is more complicated than race and more universal than *apartheid*.

Uys Krige, in a slender volume of short stories, deals with individual rather than national problems, though South Africa with its ever-threatening weight of racism is present in his landscapes and cities. The stories range widely—from a charming fairy tale to memorable recreations of desert warfare. One of the most effective, *Death of a Zulu*, is not so much a story as "a moment" caught in quiet and economical narrative. The Zulu warrior is dying from the alien shrapnel of a white man's war; his death is a tableau out of time containing the entire tragedy of Africa. In *Two Daumiers*, Krige's success in blending social and individual conflict is also demonstrated. His Africans are men rather than simple victims of transplantation to city slums. His indictment of racism is all the more moving because it never grows shrill.

While the sentiment may occasionally seem too fragile and the structure too deliberate, "The Dream and the Desert" is the work of a sensitive South African writer who draws universal meaning from his material.

Against "Gobbledygook"

PLAIN WORDS: THEIR ABC. By Sir Ernest Gowers. Knopf. \$2.50.

"Gobbledygook" is an American word, but the thing flourishes in England also. Thus tenants moved to other houses are said to have been "evacuated to alternative accommodation"; the poor are referred to as "the lower-income brackets"; and the fact that no houses were

built for five years moves an official to state that "the cessation of house building operated over a period of five years."

Sir Ernest Gowers, himself a public servant, was asked to do something about the situation and came up with two pamphlets. Slightly revised, they form a little treatise with many of the qualities that made the Fowler books famous. No pedant but obviously a man of culture and taste, Sir Ernest can be gracefully witty, and his examples are often hilarious. More important is the fact that he is clear, precise, and extremely helpful. He points out just what is wrong, just why what could be plainly stated is so often put into gobbledygook, and just how it could have been stated with decent simplicity. Here, in other words, is that rare book on how to write which concerns itself with something teachable and teaches it very effectively. Let us hope that it will be read by both the English journalist who discussed the "vicious circle of interdependent bottlenecks" and the American bureaucrat who informed a veteran that "the non-compensable evaluation heretofore assigned for your service-connected disability is confirmed and continued." ("I still say you can't have a pension.")

Texas Must Have Water

MORE WATER FOR TEXAS: THE PROBLEM AND THE PLAN. By Walter Prescott Webb. Texas. \$2.75.

Texas is a great big state, getting bigger as everyone talks about it. But there's one thing Texans can't boast about, namely, their water supply. Like the Southern Californians, whom they resemble in many respects, the Texans prefer to maintain a discreet silence on this all-important problem. But the facts will out, and most of them are set forth with clarity and understanding in this fine sixty-page document, with its excellent maps and charts and bibliography.

Not only is surface flow inadequate but there is practically no annual surplus of underground water anywhere in the state, and the water table is falling dangerously in the irrigated areas. Rapid industrialization has placed an enormous drain on available supplies, and many communities now face serious water problems. As population shifts from rural to urban centers the consumption

of water per capita increases enormously; each Texan, Dr. Webb estimates, is now consuming ten times the amount of water he did in 1890 and twice the amount he consumed in 1940. In some places water sells at five cents a bucket; oil drillers have been asked to pay \$2.40 a barrel for water in searching for oil that is worth not much more. Texans may not want to see this brilliant study too widely publicized, but they should read it with care. For as Dr. Webb points out, the growing water shortage is a "disaster of gigantic proportions that is moving slowly but steadily in on the people of the state."

Jesting Pilate

THE CAPERBERRY BUSH. By Jack Guinn. Little, Brown. \$3.95.

Mr. Guinn uses a favorite device of W. S. Gilbert, which was also the basis of a Broadway hit of some forty years back called "Nothing but the Truth." Yet "The Caperberry Bush" is not a hilarious novel, and the lack of farce seems to be not entirely unintentional, for Mr. Guinn is dealing, if obliquely, with several reasonably serious subjects—political corruption, newspaper venality, corrosion of spirit.

When the (inevitably) eccentric scientist perfects a truth serum and flees the secret defense project because the army wants to use his invention for war instead of global peace, his disappearance is hot news for the *Bulletin*, on which the narrator is rewrite man. The *Bulletin's* publisher, winding up her primary campaign for the governorship, uses the existence of the truth serum to discredit her opponent, a revivalist preacher who has been promoting public and dramatic confessions of sin.

The scientist, lacking self-control, goes busily around spiking drinks with his serum. Assorted politicians immediately have an irresistible urge to tell an explosive all. Pursued by the F. B. I., the scientist threatens to pour the drug into the city reservoir, whereupon a mass exodus takes place amid great panic.

The author, in his disclaimer, says "the story is nonsense." Had he thought more highly of it, written it more carefully, and allowed himself to be moved by some of the undercurrents, "The Caperberry Bush" might have been a very passable satire.

Theater

Harold Clurman

THAT "Dear Charles" (Morosco Theater), an Anglo-French concoction, is a type of farce popular on all the Broadways of the world before the First World War does not disturb me a bit. It represents a dramaturgy based on the structural formula once described by Molnar in the following way: "First tell them that you're going to tell them, then tell them, then tell them that you told them."

What is told in this instance is that the fascinating Dolores (our fabulous Tallulah), author-lecturer-nymphomaniac of Paris, had three children by three lovers, and when two of the children are about to marry into respectability, mama decides to wed one of her three men—an unnecessary step, she discovers, because her children-in-law are also bastards.

Such plays still have their audiences in London and Paris, occasionally even in New York ("Affairs of State"), and will presumably always have. Whenever a Pleasing Personality is available to act in such a play, there is a numerous public that will flock to the entertainment.

Miss Bankhead is such a personality. She clowns expertly, and she has a vast horde of admirers who prefer her as a clown. In "Private Lives" I found her clowning prodigiously tasteless. In the present circus I found it inoffensive and, for Miss Bankhead, routine. I am sure such a reaction will strike many theatergoers as stuffy and snobbish. If this worried me, I might counter that the gasps of delight with which one is expected to greet every one of Miss Bankhead's antics is a form of silly snobbery. I love low comedy, but Miss Bank-

TERM "GOD" UNDERVALUED IN CURRENT CHURCH USAGE

(Beyond selling space for publication of the accompanying material, *The Nation* is not to be held responsible for statements contained in the material)

If a railroad engine, powerful enough to pull thousands of tons, were used persistently—day after day—to drag a train of toy cars, everybody would say that the engine was being inefficiently employed. And yet, this is precisely the way the term "God" is habitually used by the honest and well meaning people who belong to the churches.

We have learned, in earlier installments, that the term "God" comes to us out of a great struggle, which was led by the Hebrew prophets, against the unjust economic and social practices identified with baal and "other gods". It was this very struggle that lifted the terms "God" and "Jehovah" (or "Yahweh") upward from the level of heathenism. The prophets, who victoriously fought heathen gods, learned to think of Deity as a Personal Force, above Nature, but identified with Social Justice (not socialism or communism).

The idea of social justice was expelled so thoroughly from the ancient church it has been treated as an intruder in the sphere of religion for more than fifteen hundred years. The term "God" has been restricted to the idea of individual righteousness and personal redemption—just like the powerful engine pulling only a toy train. In the prophet Isaiah's vision of God's purpose "He will bring forth justice to the nations [not simply to Israel]. He will not fail nor be discouraged until he have set justice in the earth" [not merely in Israel, Isa.42]. Instead of this imperial world-ideal, most religious people, in all honesty and sincerity, have been satisfied with personal salvation and individual comfort from the Lord. (A little selfish, is it not?). Do you wish to use your influence in promoting knowledge of truth and fact which will help to bring the churches and the general public up to the intellectual level of our progressive theological seminaries and outstanding universities?—A circular will be sent to you upon receipt of a three-cent stamp to cover postage. Requests for the circular must be accompanied by the three-cent stamp to defray cost of mailing.—L. Wallis, Box 73, Forest Hills, Long Island, New York.

head's brand of low comedy strikes me at present as a mere grimace, lacking freshness or real joyousness.

Still, "Dear Charles" is less objectionable than the mountainous nonsense of the "Midsummer Night's Dream" at the Metropolitan Opera House. Helpmann is a talented dancer-choreographer, and he can be an effective actor; Moira Shearer is a lovely dancing creature. But the production that has been contrived for them with its Victorian baroque settings, its oversized orchestra playing Mendelssohn's intimate score, its banal ballets, and its uncertain diction is a huge bore.

Helpmann is heard because he blasts

his speeches, making his Oberon something of an ogre on whose lips such passages as "I know a bank whereon the wild thyme blows . . ." sound like campaign oratory.

The production is all Hollywood beauty and pretension. And yet this is a dream come true. For what a bright showman's idea it was to collect members of the famed Old Vic, the Sadler's Wells star of "Red Shoes," a symphony orchestra, and the greatest of all English poets into one enormous package and display it at the largest of our theaters. The show was sold out before it opened, and the premiere was a gala occasion. What came true was not

Shakespeare's "Dream" but Sol Hurok's.

"All Summer Long" (Coronet Theater) is, I believe, a play Robert Anderson wrote before "Tea and Sympathy." The earlier play, a dramatization of a novel by Donald Wetzell, is less proficient as craftsmanship but more credible as a story. The least one can say of "All Summer Long" is that it is an honest play. It is difficult to say much more.

There are, Lord knows, all too many American families like the one presented here. Their pathos consists in the almost total absence of sustaining values in their lives. Their souls are crippled by clichés. Dad is a numbskull, Mother is a hopeless sentimentalist, daughter Ruth is a cream puff whose picture of life is established by the movie mags, and the older son is the melancholy victim of an automobile accident. The younger son is an adolescent lost in the harsh vacuum of his family's nullity.

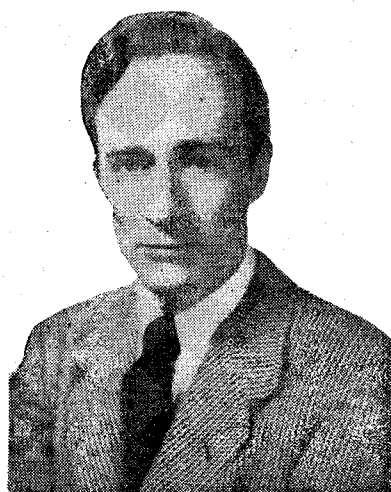
All this is painfully true as fact, but the theater is not essentially a place for facts. (I should have hesitated to emphasize this point if I had been reviewing such a play between 1910 and 1919, for at that time such facts had an explosive value on the American stage. But since then many novelists and not a few dramatists have done a job of presenting some of the less smiling aspects of our civilization.) What is missing in "All Summer Long" is original perception in terms of humor, poetry, or incisive observation. The result is a certain flatness.

The production under Alan Schneider's direction attempts to add a dimension of romance to the sorry proceedings of the tale through music and the like. Jo Mielziner's stylized setting is rather ornate in its simplicity; the electrically projected leaves on the backdrop, the projected river on the scene curtain, the elaborately cut-out leafage over the would-be stark house call too much attention to themselves.

Clay Hall is altogether sympathetic as the younger son; Ed Begley as Dad has a fine voice and is always convincing. Indeed, a good word might be said for everyone in the cast, although it should be pointed out to John Kerr, who plays the older son, that he is developing a monotonous delivery which may win momentary praise for its plainness but which, if it continues, will injure him in his progress as an actor. The evening suffers a short circuit.

Coming Next Week

The Nation's SPECIAL FALL BOOKS ISSUE



John W. Aldridge

Featuring Part I of a challenging series of essays:

THE AMERICAN WRITER The Hypocrisy of His Status

By

JOHN W. ALDRIDGE

One of America's Foremost Younger Critics

The Nation takes pride in announcing that with this issue John W. Aldridge will become a regular contributor to the magazine. One of the finest critics in America, the 31-year-old Mr. Aldridge is the author of "After the Lost Generation," a study of post-World War II writers, and editor of "Critiques and Essays on Modern Fiction." He is now Assistant Professor of English at the University of Vermont. In the spring of 1954 he was selected to give the Christian Gauss Seminars in Criticism at Princeton University. He has lectured at Columbia, City College, University of Wyoming and Boston University. His critical writings have appeared in Harper's, Saturday Review, New York Times and many other publications.

The issue also contains outstanding critical pieces by Joyce Cary, Oliver Edmund Clubb, George Dangerfield, S. Lane Faison, Mark Gayn, Joseph Wood Krutch, Frederick L. Schuman, Stanley Walker and others.

Records

B. H. Haggin

THIS is a report on several of the European Columbia recordings that are now being issued here by Angel Records.

First the recording of Bellini's "I Puritani." This seems to me Bellini's finest opera, with its passages of impressive dramatic force in addition to the characteristic beautiful lyrical writing that is heard also in "La Sonnambula." The recording offers a superb performance by the Milan Scala ensemble under Serafin, with a cast headed by Maria Callas, the young soprano whose singing in the Cetra-Capitol "La Traviata" I discussed recently. Again one hears a voice remarkable in its beauty and its power of expressive projection; and one hears also this time that voice not merely coping with the more formidably difficult vocal writing—the long melodic phrases and the florid passages rising to high D and E flat—but doing so with breath-taking bravura. Again the voice is most beautiful in lyrical passages that are sung quietly and florid passages that are sung lightly; and dramatic intensity in lyrical passages and bravura in florid ones occasionally result in stridency. There is excellent singing also by the tenor Giuseppe Di Stefano and the baritone Rolando Panerai, and surprisingly good—which is to say unaffected—singing by the bass Nicola Rossi-Lemeni; the chorus and orchestra are fine; and Serafin conducts with authority and force.

Then the Song Recital of the soprano Mattiwilda Dobbs, offering her exquisite voice and singing in Schubert's great "Nacht und Träume," his "Heidenröslein" and "Liebhaber in allen Gestalten," and two other early songs that are quite charming—"Die Entzückung an Laura," and "La Pastorella," with its bits of fioritura in Italian style that Miss Dobbs executes enchantingly; also Brahms's fine "Botschaft," his "Wiegenlied," and two unfamiliar songs that are quite engaging—"Auf dem Schiffe" and "Nachtigallen schwingen"; also Wolf's lovely "Die Spröde," "Die Bekehrte," and "Zitronenfalter im April"; and also

songs of Fauré, Chausson, and Hahn. Gerald Moore provides sensitive accompaniments; and the German texts are given with English translations.

A Schubert Lieder Recital offers the soprano Elisabeth Schwarzkopf and the pianist Edwin Fischer in a number of fine songs—"An die Musik," "Das Lied im Grünen," "Gretchen am Spinnrade," "Nähe des Geliebten," "Die junge Nonne," "An Sylvia," "Auf dem Wasser zu singen," "Der Musensohn," and the less frequently heard "Im Frühling," "Nachtviolen," and "Wehmuth"—sung for the most part very beautifully. My reservations are about what seems to me the over-deliberate pace of "Das Lied im Grünen," the gasping and whispering in "Gretchen am Spinnrade," and the failure to hold *Kuss* long enough at the climax of this song. Fischer is too subdued in "Gretchen"; but elsewhere his musical playing works very effectively with the singing. The German texts are given with English summaries.

Schwarzkopf's record Mozart Opera Arias offers beautiful sustained singing in *Zeffiretti lusinghieri* from "Idomeneo," *Dovo sono* from "Figaro," and the slow opening section of *Non mi dir* from "Don Giovanni," and a somewhat breathlessly agitated performance that can be considered suitable to *Non so più cosa son* from "Figaro," but unacceptably mannered singing in *Porgi amor*, *Deh vieni non tardar*, and *Voi che sapete* from "Figaro," the introductory recitative and final florid section of *Non mi dir*, and *Batti batti e Vedrai carino* from "Don Giovanni." The Philharmonia Orchestra plays well under John Pritchard.

Schwarzkopf contributes lovely singing as one of the four excellent soloists in the performance of Bach's B minor Mass conducted by von Karajan—the others being Marga Höffgen, Nicola Gedda, and Heinz Rehfuss. But the chorus of the Vienna Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde is not as good as the Akademiechor in the Scherchen performance on Westminster; Scherchen's slower tempos permit a subtle expressive

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inflection in his chorus's singing that one doesn't hear in the singing of von Karajan's; and Scherchen's chorus is more clearly reproduced. At a number of points, in fact, von Karajan and the recording staff don't seem to have taken much trouble about proper levels and balances of volume.

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Boccherini's Quartets Op. 39 No. 3 and Op. 58 No. 3—each with a very fine slow movement, and with writing in the other movements that is individual and engaging—are played by the Quartetto Italiano with its usual beauty and refinement of marvelously blended tone, and a delicacy of style and subtlety of inflection perfectly suited to this music.

Letters

Labor Honors a Priest

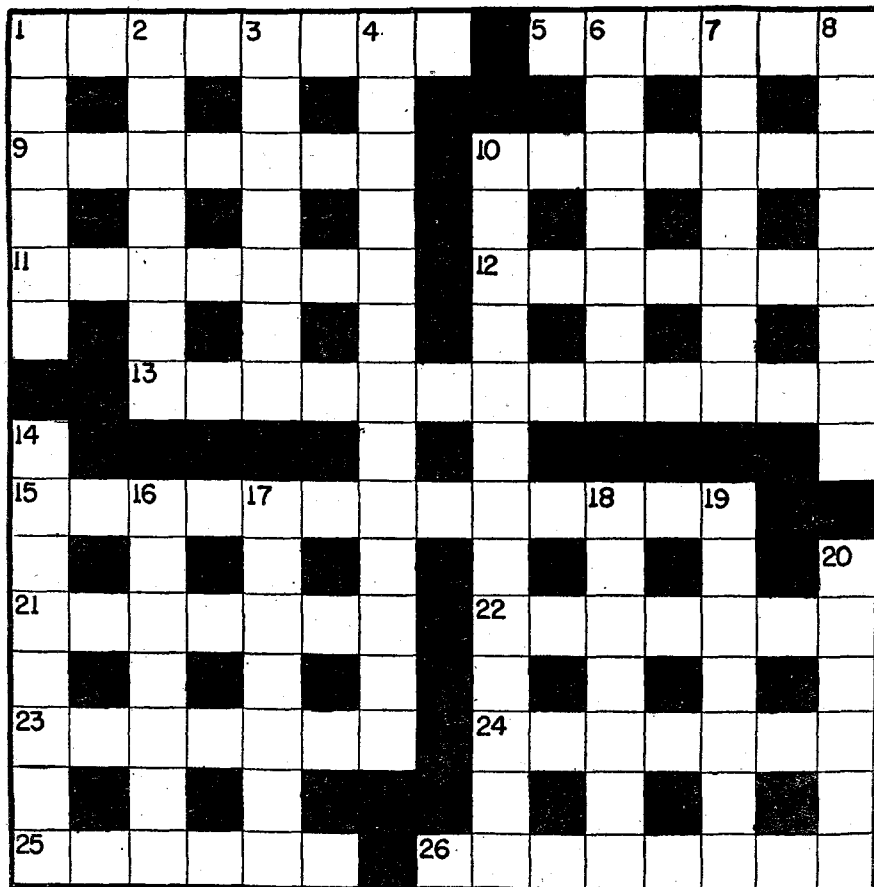
Dear Sirs: A Louisiana priest who for eighteen years has valiantly aided Southern workers will be honored October 9 when the Workers' Defense League gives its 1954 David L. Clendenin Award for Distinguished Service to Labor's Rights to Father Jerome Drolet, pastor of St. Charles Catholic Church in Thibodaux, Louisiana. The presentation will be sponsored by a committee of prominent liberals and labor unionists.

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New York JOHN NICHOLAS BEFFEL

Crossword Puzzle No. 588

BY FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

- 1 An impulse this month in the head of 4 down, briefly. (8)
- 5 Freedom with 21, or punishment with 22, common in verse and fiction. (6)
- 9 A swell place to live like a bird on the water. (7)
- 10 Fat races, it seems. (7)
- 11 Where the water runs into the wine? (7)
- 12 Seal men use in making coats. (7)
- 13 Certainly doesn't imply too much play. (6, 7)
- 15 The way some fight suggests anything but a prison ship. (2, 5, 6)
- 21 See 5. (7)
- 22 See 5. (7)
- 23 This old city must lie in Asia Minor. (7)
- 24 The way canaries get their bearings? (7)
- 25 Proving a variety of tse-tse should have feet. (6)
- 26 Eating this would never make a man out of you! (8)

DOWN

- 1 Precautionary way to wrap things up? (6)

- 2 Is this a main-stay? (3, 4)
- 3 Blown over the water without touching it. (7)
- 4 Rules cost part of the medical treatment, perhaps. (5, 8)
- 6 Cut and run? (7)
- 7 This might bother people in the wrong. (7)
- 8 You're certain to be. (8)
- 10 Not an unpleasant blemish, with a major upset for the mint. (5, 8)
- 14 How Chicago went up once? (8)
- 16 Feathers fly for the fisherman. (7)
- 17 Crescentlike section. (7)
- 18 His beef wouldn't be legitimate. (7)
- 19 Engine wheels rather than engineers. (7)
- 20 Never mind the tea, dearest! (3, 3)

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 587

ACROSS:— 1 DISCORDANCE; 9 DROP-KICK; 10 ENOUGH; 11 EARTHEN; 14 PYRENE; 15 REDHEADS; 17 MORTISED; 20 PRIMPS; 22 and 12 BEDTIME STORIES; 24 SCHERZO; 26 PLANER; 27 CHATTELS; 28 INSIDE PITCH.

DOWN:— 2 IMPATIENT; 3 and 21 CHINESE PUZZLE; 4 RAKE; 5 AVERTED; 6 CHOIR; 7 DREAMY; 8 AGREED; 13 BRIDE; 16 EPILEPTIC; 18 ONEILL; 19 SAMURAI; 20 PEC-CABI; 23 TENON; 25 ACHE.

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